Exhibit 38

Deposition of Roger D. Blair (December 8, 2017) (excerpted)

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             UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
                DISTRICT OF NEVADA
   CUNG LE; NATHAN QUARRY, JON
   FITCH, on behalf of
   themselves and all others
   similarly situated,
             Plaintiffs,
             vs.
                                 ) Case No.
                                   2:15-cv-01045-RFB-(PAL)
   ZUFFA, LLC, d/b/a Ultimate
   Fighting Championship and
   UFC,
            Defendant.
                HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL
    VIDEOTAPED DEPOSITION OF ROGER D. BLAIR, Ph.D.
                  Orlando, Florida
                  December 8, 2017
                      7:57 a.m.
Reported By:
Dawn A. Hillier, RMR, CRR, CLR
Job No. 52572
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14 1 the NCAA cartel. I have another paper that's in 1 but other than that, are there any other distinguishing 2 2 progress on rethinking baseball's antitrust exemption. characteristics about the labor markets in sports as 3 3 I have a chapter in the Oxford handbook on compared to other industries? 4 sports economics regarding the -- you know, regarding, 4 A Well, I mean, I don't know what you're 5 again, baseball's antitrust exemption. And a paper in 5 referring to or, you know, I mean, I'm assuming that 6 the antitrust bulletin that was addressing the 6 you've got something in mind. 7 7 inferences one might draw with respect to the treatment But --8 8 that Barry Bonds got at the end of his career when his Q Well let me -- let me clarify -- go ahead. 9 contract ran out and he couldn't find anybody that 9 A No. You go. 10 10 Q All right. So, I guess what I'm getting at is wanted to sign him. 11 There probably are some other things that I'm 11 I guess some economists study industrial organizations 12 not thinking of. 12 and study the way firms interact in a variety of 13 13 Q It sounds like you've written pretty widely in industries and don't necessarily separate out firms in 14 the economic analysis of sports or sports economics; is 14 one industry from another. And I guess, is there 15 15 that right? anything -- is there any reason -- is there any reason 16 16 A Well, to some extent, yes. why, looking at labor markets and sports, for example, 17 17 O What, if anything, would you say defines vou might bring tools to bear that are different than a 18 sports economics as a distinct field? Or distinguishes 18 standard -- than the standard methodologies of 19 the study of sports as an economist? 19 industrial organizations? 20 20 A The economics is not different because we're A Well, so, there are some things that are a 21 talking about sports. The institutions are -- you know, 21 little -- I guess a little unusual. A lot of the 22 may be different. There are -- when we're talking about 22 professional athletes are unionized. And the union 23 23 is -- what the union bargains for is a little strange in professional sports this spans all kinds of leagues and 24 24 organizations. So, you know, you could be talking about this sense. That the unions don't appear to be at all 25 the PGA Tour, which is an organization as opposed to the 25 concerned with individual compensation. And, so, 15 1 National Football League, which is a -- which is a 1 they're sort of bargaining for a pot of money that the 2 league. You know, as I say, the economics aren't really 2 athletes can then fight over. And, you know, I mean, 3 different. The institutions are somewhat different. 3 so, you have, you know, dollars associated with, you 4 The -- there are some unique or idiosyncratic rules that 4 know, a particular team. And then the athletes that are 5 5 show up in collective bargaining agreements that, you going to be employed by that team essentially have to 6 know, that come into play that make things -- they 6 try to get as much of that pool as they can, 7 7 affect the analysis, but they don't change the central individually, which is, you know -- I mean, usually what 8 focus which should be in terms of -- in most cases, in 8 you think of with unions, is that they're trying to 9 9 terms of microeconomics. To some extent, there are negotiate so that, you know, everybody's getting more or 10 issues that surface in terms of, like, stadium financing 10 less the same thing. And, so, you know, that would 11 11 that -- or franchise location that, you know, that give be -- that would be a difference, or something that's 12 12 rise to economic impact studies which are kind of a sort of idiosyncratic. 13 13 macroeconomics thing, although, you know, they're not You know, at some level, you know, for some of 14 economy wide, they're, you know, focused in or 14 the -- some of the athletes are -- well, all athletes 15 15 centralized in, you know, certain locations. have some uniqueness to their set of skills and 16 You know, and there were other sorts of 16 abilities. You know, some are bigger, some are faster, 17 17 regulations that come into play, like Title IX and... some are stronger, some are more durable. You know, 18 18 But now, of course, we're getting into the some have a better feel for the game than others. And, 19 amateur sports. You know, so there's the NCAA, which 19 you know, there are some that, you know, that are kind 20 has, you know, got, you know, certain -- you know, sort 20 of superstars. And, you know, and given their skill set 21 of unique features. But nonetheless, you know, the 21 and their abilities, they make a lot of money that --22 22 tools of analysis are common to, you know, the economist and there are players that play other positions that are 23 23 tool kit, so to speak. less talented, or at least less uniquely talented. And, you know, and they make less money. And, you know, so 24 Q Are there any -- I think -- well, you 24 25 mentioned there are some idiosyncratic rules and CBAs, there are differences like that.

5 (Pages 14 to 17)

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18 20 1 Q I think you mentioned the uniqueness of a set 1 A Yeah. I mean, sure. People want to, you 2 2 of skills and abilities that certain players have. And know, may well want to see somebody like LeBron James 3 3 play, even though he's playing for the visiting team. that in professional sports, tell me if I'm accurately 4 characterizing what you said, that in professional 4 5 sports, there are superstars as well; is that right? 5 Q So, given that sports has this characteristic, 6 A Yes. 6 which I won't call unique, but different then, let's 7 7 Q Is it fair to say that the unique set of say, the Toyotas, for example, in that the ultimate 8 8 skills that athletes have or their fame plays an consumer is the fans may care about the identity of 9 important role in the revenues generated by sports 9 the -- or the performance of the individual workers 10 10 organizations? producing the product, does that give rise to any unique 11 A Yeah, sure. I mean, because -- I mean, 11 issues in studying sports as a field, as opposed to 12 12 because of fan appeal and, you know, the fans are more other -- I'm sorry, sports as an industry as opposed to 13 willing to pay to watch some of these so-called 13 other industries? 14 superstars. 14 MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form. 15 15 Q Exactly. THE WITNESS: Well, I mean, that's a specific A Yeah. Sure. 16 16 feature of the demand on the part of the fan base 17 O Does that characteristic of the product that's 17 or consumers, you know, that can influence how many 18 18 people are willing to buy tickets to watch. And being created in that -- in professional sports, does 19 that one characteristic that distinguishes it from other 19 how much they're willing to pay for those tickets. 20 20 industries where the customers of the product don't But, you know, the determination of those issues 21 really know or care who the workers are that made it, 21 depends on, you know, a host of factors in addition 22 22 to whether some famous superstar is there or not. necessarily? 23 23 MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form. You know, has to do with promotion and has to do 24 24 THE WITNESS: You mean, like when -- if I buy with how well the team is doing, or teams, and how 25 a Toyota, I don't really have any idea who 25 close the game might be and therefore how exciting 19 21 1 assembled the parts and who designed it and that it might be to watch. And there's a whole host of 1 2 2 kind of thing? things that are, you know, specific things that, BY MR. SILVERMAN: 3 3 you know, one might want to think about when 4 Q Exactly. 4 analyzing questions in sports. 5 5 BY MR. SILVERMAN: A And so I'm not willing to pay a premium for 6 Q Changing gears for a sec. Have you testified that Toyota because some, you know, revered designer, 7 7 you know, sort of designed how -in court before as an expert witness? 8 8 Q Right. A I have, yes. 9 9 A -- the car looked. How many times? 10 10 A My best estimate is about 25 times. Okay. So, that's -- you know, lots of 11 11 products that we buy are like that; right? You know, O About how many of those cases were antitrust 12 12 some of them -- some of the products, however, are cases? 13 13 A Assuming that 25 is a good estimate, I would endorsed by movie stars or sports stars or, you know, 14 people that have certain appeal to consumers. But I 14 say probably something in the order of the high teens. 15 15 Maybe as much as 20, but... guess your question is, you know, am I particularly 16 interested in going to watch the Orlando Magic play 16 That's about as good as I can do. 17 17 because they're playing against the Cleveland Cavaliers Q And have you testified on both the plaintiff's 18 18 and I want to watch LeBron James play. side and defense side in antitrust cases? 19 19 A I have, yes. Q For example. 20 20 A Is that --Q How many times have you had your deposition 21 Q Yeah. Well, that's part of my question. But, 21 taken? That might be a tough one. If you can estimate. 22 22 yeah, can you answer that question? A Probably -- probably about 60 times. 23 23 Q And how many times have you been retained by A Yeah. Sure. I mean, yeah. Of course. I 24 mean, you know, people --24 Boies Schiller, Zuffa's attorneys in this matter? 25 25 A In any matter? Q Yeah.

6 (Pages 18 to 21)

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1	Q In any matter, yeah.	1	something that I worked on for Acushnet which is the
2	A All right. So, I'm hesitating because I guess	2	title that makes Titleist golf balls.
3	the answer's twice, although the retentions were kind of	3	I don't remember any other cases.
4	simultaneous.	4	Q Okay. What was the PGA Tour case about?
5	Q What were the two matters?	5	A Well, this was some time ago. But it had to
6	A Well, there was, you know, a preliminary, I	6	do with you know, there was some dispute about
7	guess, investigation by the Seattle field office of the	7	eligibility requirements for the players. So, as you
8	FTC that dealt with matters that were, you know, pretty	8	might imagine, when they put on an event I think this
9	much the same thing as the matters in this case. And	9	was for the I think this was actually for the senior
10	then there was this case.	10	tour events.
11	Q Have you been retained other than those two	11	You know, there's only so many players they
12	matters, have you been retained as an expert witness in	12	can have in the field. And they had eligibility
13	any other cases involving the MMA industry?	13	requirements. And somebody was objecting to the
14	A No.	14	eligibility requirements, I guess. I think that
15	Q Or combat sports?	15	that's as best I can remember, that was the issue.
16	A No.	16	Q And who were you retained by in that case?
17	Q Have you ever before working on this case,	17	A Well, it was I was retained by a lawyer
18	have you ever studied combat sports?	18	representing the PGA Tour, or the senior tour, or
19	A Not in depth. But, you know, in teaching a	19	whichever it was.
20	sports economics class, I made the mistake of sending	20	Q And was the tour the defendant in that case?
21	out a questionnaire to the class asking them, in the	21	A Yes.
22	beginning, what they might be interested in my making	22	Q Were the claims were there antitrust claims
23	sure that I covered. And a couple of them pointed that	23	involved, if you recall?
24	they were interested in MMA. And so I had to go find	24	A Well, you know, I don't recall specifically.
25	out something about it so that I could, you know,	25	But there were probably some antitrust claims, you know,
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1	conduct a sensible class.	1	regarding the eligibility requirements.
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7 (Pages 22 to 25)

114 116 1 But, you know, one of the things that we're 1 I'm sorry, how long does it take to get from that 2 2 equilibrium one to equilibrium two. And we don't implicitly assuming is that all units of the input 3 are homogenous so that, you know, whoever, you 3 really -- we don't really have much to say, 4 know, you know, widgits are the same thing and 4 theoretically, about any kind of variations that 5 they're identical. And now, it may be that in 5 may exist during that transition period. 6 6 order to get more of them, you have to up the Now, one would expect, once you get into 7 7 price. But that doesn't mean that they somehow equilibrium, again, that the terms would be, if not 8 8 become different then. They'll still provide, you identical, they would be the value of the total 9 know, the quality and, you know, in every dimension 9 compensation -- bundle of compensation would have 10 10 to be valued pretty much the same by the is the same. 11 The other thing is that, you know, that model 11 individual -- if we're talking about labor, the 12 12 is a kind of, you know, spot market model in the individual workers, if they're -- if they have 13 sense that, you know, we're talking about, you 13 identical skills so that this model is really 14 know, I'm going to buy, you know, rolls of copper 14 appropriate, then, you know, it may well be that, 15 15 you know, I'm -- I'm more risk averse than you are. wire because, you know, for, you know, an 16 16 electrical contracting company. And in looking at So when I am trying to land a job, I want some 17 that, you know, I'm going to -- you know, the issue 17 protection. 18 18 is, I'm going to buy five rolls instead of four Now, you can't get protection for nothing. So 19 and, you know, what does that do and, you know, 19 the value of this set of terms, you know, I may get 20 20 and, you know, but the transaction's taking place, less in retirement benefits. I may get less in, 21 bang, all at once. You know, now, that's not true 21 you know, perhaps vacation time. I may get less in 22 22 terms of, you know, monthly salary or something. in, you know, what you're talking about because 23 23 But in exchange for that, I get some protection you're talking about, you know, contracts that 24 have, you know, some inter-temporal dimension to 24 against, you know, being unemployed or, you know, 25 them. And -- now, and then when we start to talk 25 losing benefits if I get injured or something like 117 1 about some of these terms, you know, one would 1 that. 2 2 You know, on the other hand, somebody that is expect -- maybe -- maybe not -- maybe not less risk averse doesn't value those protections as 3 initially, but you would expect the terms to wind 3 4 up being roughly the same, you know, in a market, 4 much as I do and, you know, and doesn't want them, 5 and, you know, may take a different set of terms you know, just through adjustments over time as you 6 move to an equilibrium. You know, again, now, you that might involve, you know, higher salary or, you 7 7 know, some higher monetary benefit and, you know, know, I don't think that we've -- we emphasized 8 this enough when we teach economics, that most of 8 as trade-off against absorbing more of the risk. 9 9 the models that we talk about are equilibrium So it's hard to -- it's hard to say exactly 10 10 what's going to happen in that regard. models. So I can tell you that, you know, we start 11 11 MR. SILVERMAN: Yeah. Why don't we take a from competition, and now you say to me, okay, so, 12 for example, in one of the things that we were 12 break. We have to change the tape. 13 looking at before, you know, we started out with 13 THE VIDEOGRAPHER: This is the end of media 14 14 competition and there was a whole bunch of mergers unit number two to be continued on media unit 15 15 number three. 12:18 p.m., off the record. and that created a dominant firm. 16 And then we want to say, okay. So, now, let's 16 (A luncheon recess is had from 12:18 p.m. to 17 17 compare what happens with this dominant firm in a 1:14 p.m.) 18 18 fringe to what we started with. Well, what we THE VIDEOGRAPHER: Here begins media unit 19 never tell you about is how you get from that 19 number three in the continued deposition of 20 20 competitive equilibrium to the new dominant firm Roger D. Blair. We're going back on the record at 21 21 equilibrium. And in between -- I mean, first of 1:14 p.m. 22 22 BY MR. SILVERMAN: all, as economists -- now, some labor economists 23 23 Q Welcome back. I would like to turn your may actually look at this and try to estimate this 24 adjustment process. But by and large, you know, we 24 attention back to the -- your textbook, "Sports 25 Economics," that we were looking at before. And on page don't really focus on how long does it get to --

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120 118 1 343 of that book, you write in a section called Demand 1 Q Okay. Is the demand for fighter talent in MMA 2 2 derived from the fans' demand for watching MMA events for Athletic Talent, [as read]: We begin our analysis 3 3 of the sports labor market by assuming that it is featuring those fighters? 4 competitively structured. For the most part, however, 4 MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form. 5 sports labor markets are not competitive. Nonetheless, 5 THE WITNESS: Well, it may not be those 6 the competitive model provides a useful benchmark for 6 fighters, but the demand for MMA talent is -- you 7 7 comparison with the actual results. In addition, it know, is a derived demand from -- it's derived from 8 8 introduces a way of measuring a player's value to his the demand by fans for watching MMA bouts. 9 club. Athletes are employees of their respective clubs 9 BY MR. SILVERMAN: 10 10 Q Given that MMA is an individual sport which which are business firms that produce athletic 11 11 competition that is sold to the fans. We begin our pits certain fighters against other fighters, is it 12 analysis with the principles that drive the employment 12 possible that fans have very different levels of demand 13 13 for bouts featuring certain fighters rather than others? decisions of profit maximizing firms. In general, labor 14 is an input in the production process. No one demands 14 MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form. 15 15 THE WITNESS: Sure. labor services for their own sake. Instead, labor is 16 16 BY MR. SILVERMAN: demanded because it can be used to produce something 17 that the employer can sell. Consequently, the demand 17 Q Have you analyzed how much fan demand is 18 18 affected by the particular fighters who appear in an MMA for labor is a derived demand. It is derived from the 19 demand for the output that the labor is used to produce. 19 event? 20 20 In the sports business, players, coaches, and managers A Not specifically, no. 21 are employed by their clubs to produce athletic 21 Q I think we covered this, but in a competitive 22 22 market, an employer pays their employees the marginal competition which is what the clubs sell to the fans. 23 23 The demand for athletic talent is derived from the fans' revenue product of their labor; is that right? 24 demand for watching the games that the athletes play. 2.4 A Yeah. In a competitive market, the firm is 25 So, can you explain for me -- well, let me 25 going to expand employment to the point where the 121 119 1 1 marginal revenue product is equal to the wage that is, start by asking, do you agree that labor is a derived 2 2 you know, comes from the demand and supply in the market demand? 3 MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form. 3 as a whole. 4 THE WITNESS: I think you misspoke slightly. 4 Q And so then the wage that that firm pays will 5 5 BY MR. SILVERMAN: equal that margin revenue product; is that right? 6 6 A Yes. And assuming that the -- that we're in a O Sorry. Yeah. 7 7 Do you mean that -- scratch that. Let me ask profit maximizing equilibrium, that is that the firm has 8 the question again. 8 been successful in actually maximizing profit. And when 9 9 Do you agree that the demand for labor is a that's the case, the marginal revenue product will be 10 10 equal to their wage. derived demand, it is derived from the demand for the 11 11 output that the labor is used to produce? O And we discussed how a monopsonist pays 12 A Yes. 12 something less than the marginal revenue product of 13 Q Okay. What is the output that the UFC 13 labor; right? 14 produces using the athlete's labor in MMA? 14 A Yes. 15 15 A It provides -- what it's supplying are, you Q And that leads to a transfer of surplus from 16 know, events that consist of a number of bouts, MMA 16 the worker to the monopsonist; right? 17 17 A Relative to the competitive solution, yes, 18 18 Q Do you agree that with this quote that I just that's correct 19 read, that the demand for athletic talent is derived 19 Q At page 345 of your textbook, you write [as 20 20 from the fans' demand for watching the games that the read]: A professional team's focus on marginal revenue 21 21 athletes play? product is illustrated by the Cincinnati Reds' 22 22 A Yeah. That's the same question. assessment of Ken Griffey, Jr.'s presence in 2000. The 23 23 team expected to gain 20 million in new revenues due to Q Yeah. Essentially. 24 Just specific to sports and fans, I guess. 24 his presence in the line-up. Attendance rose by some 25 25 500,000 fans during the 2000 season which translated A Yes.

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122 124 1 into 16 million in additional gate receipts and 1 MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form. 2 2 THE WITNESS: Well, that's certainly one of concession revenues. Merchandise sales rose another 3 3 the -- you know, one of the benefits; right? I 1.9 million. Arguably, Griffey's marginal revenue 4 product, or MRP was nearly 18 million which was less 4 mean, presumably, with Ken Griffey, Jr., you were 5 than the Reds had hoped for, but more than Griffey was 5 getting, you know, one of the best baseball players 6 paid, which was 7 million. 6 that ever lived. And, you know, that would do a 7 7 Does this paragraph illustrate the sort of couple of things to -- in terms of benefits for the 8 8 analysis that an economist would engage in to try to team. I mean, number one, just because, you know, 9 estimate an athlete's marginal revenue product? 9 he was a remarkable player and people would be 10 MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form. 10 interested in watching him play. You know, that 11 11 THE WITNESS: I don't know if you would do would have a positive effect. But in addition to 12 12 that on -- I don't know if you could do that on a that, you know, because of his talent, they should 13 very broad basis. What I was trying to do --13 have won -- all else being equal, they should have 14 that's an illustration. And, you know, what it 14 won more games --15 15 indicates, of course, is that Griffey didn't do a BY MR. SILVERMAN: 16 good job bargaining for, you know, for his salary 16 Q Um-hum. 17 because he wound up getting substantially less than 17 A -- as a result. And that usually makes the 18 what one might think was the -- his marginal 18 fans happier and, you know, and might well lead to some 19 revenue product. 19 additional attendance as well. But, you know -- but, 20 20 Now, as an illustration of -- you know, that again, what you would want to be sure is that you're 21 general idea of looking at marginal revenue 21 taking into account other sources of those changes. If 22 products, it got those -- there's a source for, you 22 you're just looking at the change in attendance from one 23 23 know, where I got the information in order to write year to the next, it's 500,000 fans. And you say, well, 24 24 up that. You know, if you were looking at, you we added Griffey. Well, if you attribute all of that 25 25 know, marginal revenue products, you know, more increase to Ken Griffey, Jr., that might be a mistake 123 125 1 generally, you might want to -- to see whether that 1 because, you know, we'd have to take into account what 2 increase in attendance of 500,000 was motivated by 2 else happened. I mean, there may well have been, you 3 something else. I mean, you know, Griffey may not 3 know, a change in economic conditions that led to, you 4 have been the only player that was attracting fan know, fans spending more money on going to baseball 5 5 games. It could have been, you know, any number of attention. You know, it could have been that the 6 ball club had invested in, you know, other 6 things, as I mentioned before. 7 promotional activities that led to increased 7 BY MR. SILVERMAN: 8 attendance, at least in part. I mean, I wouldn't 8 Q Is this -- it sounds like you're -- it sounds 9 9 say that Griffey had nothing to do with it, but, like you're pointing out a correlation causation issue 10 10 you know. with this example; is that right? 11 11 And, so, if you were looking at this in, you A Not entirely. I mean, to some extent, it is a 12 know, a broader context, than just to provide an 12 distinction between correlation and causation. But 13 illustration for students, you know, you would 13 it's -- you know, I would feel comfortable -- you know, 14 probably want to look at some other things as well. 14 if everything else was constant, which is, you know, 15 BY MR. SILVERMAN: 15 sort of hard to, you know, find situations like that 16 Q So I understand, you're saying it can be --16 empirically. But if everything else was constant and, 17 17 you know, this is just an illustration and it's not you know, the only real difference that you can see is 18 18 obvious to that you can attribute, you know, 500,000 that Ken Griffey, Jr., is now playing right field or 19 wherever he was playing, instead of somebody else, then, fans, specifically, to Griffey, for example. But is 19 20 20 you know, I wouldn't feel uncomfortable attributing the -- is the method of analysis correct in the sense 21 that to measure the marginal revenue product of an 21 causation to the increase in attendance being due to Ken 22 22 athlete, one acceptable way to approach that problem Griffey, Jr. It's just that if you're going to try to 23 23 would be to try to measure the additional -- the number do that, you still have to control for all the other 24 of additional fans that that athlete brings to their 24 things that actually aren't constant. Because, you 25 25 employer, essentially? know, in -- you know, real empirical settings, you know,

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150 152 1 you know, there's allocative inefficiency associated if it leads to, you know, lower prices paid and lower 2 2 quantities purchased, you know, we think of those -with the monopolist, because the monopolist does not --3 3 that conduct as being anticompetitive. You know, it's does not put in enough resources to produce the welfare 4 maximizing quantity of output that it -- because it you know, conduct or practices that prevent competition 5 5 between alternative producers or alternative employers, restricts output. 6 6 And on the purchase side for buying inputs or you know, we think of as being anticompetitive. 7 7 hiring inputs, as the case may be, that the decision is Q And we discussed how the reserve clause gave 8 8 to -- is allocatively inefficient because too few teams monopsony power over the players and we discussed 9 resources are being purchased or hired in the sense that 9 how that led to suppressed salaries. Did it also lead 10 10 to lower output? their value exceeds their social cost. So that's 11 11 what -- so allocative inefficiency has a technical A I don't think it led to lower output in the 12 12 meaning. And you're asking me a question that relates sense that, you know, the teams -- the leagues had, you 13 13 know, at that time, a -- you know, a schedule of 154 to what happens to perhaps shifts in the demand 14 functions. And that's a different matter. 14 games. And, you know, it's hard to say whether it led 15 15 to a reduction in outputs in the National League. It Q Let me step back a beat and just ask you, is 16 16 was in place back in the 1800s, you know, so... it your opinion that the reserve system was 17 17 But by the same token, it's hard to imagine anticompetitive on balance, which is related to what 18 18 that you get many more games into a season anyway since we're talking about? 19 A You mean historically? 19 you only have basically six months to play, which is 180 20 20 days. And if you got 154 games, back in those days, the Historically. The historic reserve system. 21 Is anticompetitive? 21 travel was by train and bus and stuff. I mean, it's Α 22 22 just, you know, it's hard to imagine that they could Um-hum. 23 23 have played many more games than that anyway, but, you Is that the question? 24 24 know. Q Yeah. 25 25 Sure. In principle, maybe there was some, you know, 151 153 1 O And why? marginal reduction in the number of games. You know, I 2 2 can't -- I can't say, but... A Because the reserve system, you know, was in 3 agreement among the major league teams to use a standard 3 Q So, when you say that the reserve clause was 4 player contract that had the evergreen provision, or 4 anticompetitive, then, are you referring mostly to its 5 5 provisions whenever a collection of terms in the effect on players' salaries on that input price? 6 contract is what we commonly refer to as the reserve 6 A Well, it's that and the -- I mean, just on its 7 clause, which, you know, may have been more than a 7 face, when you describe, you know, what that reserve 8 clause. But constituted that reserve system so that, 8 system involved, you know, it did limit the competition 9 9 you know, once a player was signed to a contract, that between teams for a particular player's services. 10 10 the -- you know, the club had property rights in that Right? So, if you and I want to hire the same player, 11 11 contract and, you know, no one else could gain access to and he's under contract to me, then you have to buy that 12 that unless they sold it or traded it. 12 contract from me either for cash, or you could trade 13 And, you know, so the agreement among all the 13 somebody else's contract for that contract. 14 teams to respect that provision in the contract for all 14 But, you can't simply go to the player and 15 15 say, hey, why don't you -- next season, why don't you the other teams meant that they were agreeing, you know, 16 not to compete for the services of any player that was 16 play for me, because there's an agreement that you and I 17 17 under contract to a different team. are not going to compete in that way. 18 18 Q What is -- how would you define -- as a Q Does any agreement -- I'm sorry. Does any 19 scholar of antitrust economics, how would you define 19 practice that limits the competition between teams for a 20 what it means for a practice to be anticompetitive? 20 particular player's services anticompetitive? 21 21 A Well, a practice -- I mean, ordinarily, we MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form. 22 22 think of a practice as being anticompetitive if it's --MR. SILVERMAN: Strike that. Let me rephrase 23 23 if we're talking about the output market, at least the that 24 higher prices, lower quantities, lower quality. 24 BY MR. SILVERMAN: 25 25 And, you know, similarly, on the buying side, Q Is any practice that limits the competition

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1	between teams for a particular player's services	1	I mean, you know, this you know, sometimes
2	anticompetitive?	2	it's sometimes things that look like they're
3	MR. WIDNELL: Same objection.	3	either exclusionary or, you know, anticompetitive
4	THE WITNESS: So, you know, my initial	4	in some other way, are not really anticompetitive.
5	instinct is to say is to is to agree that	5	It's just that the locus of competition is
6	that would be the case. But, you know, I would	6	different. And that difference, you know, has to
7	have to think about, you know, what is you know,	7	be taken into account in order to figure out
8	what's involved in, you know, in specific, you	8	whether there's you know, whether on balance the
9	know, cases. Because when you say "any," that	9	agreement's anticompetitive.
10	means that means if I agree to that, that means	10	So, for example, you know, in, you know, some
11	that there is no agreement that limits competition	11	franchise contracts, you know, for just not
12	that could be either competitively neutral or	12	baseball, but or sports franchise, but just
13	actually pro competitive. And, you know, to say	13	general franchise contracts, there may be time
14	that safely, you have to be able to think about all	14	provisions that that require that the that
15	of the every conceivable, you know, possible	15	the franchisee has to buy certain inputs from the
16	agreement. And I just, you know, I'm just not in a	16	franchiser. And so it looks like that provision is
17	position to do that right now.	17	tied to the franchise license. And you might say,
18	BY MR. SILVERMAN:	18	well, that's anticompetitive because other you
19	Q Sure. Would you agree that that an	19	know, the franchisees can't buy from other sources.
20	agreement that that limits the competition between	20	But what you have to recognize is that the
21	teams for a particular player's services has an obvious	21	locus of competition shifted. The locus of
22	anticompetitive implication or effect?	22	competition is to become the franchiser's supplier.
23	MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form.	23	So the rival suppliers of that input, you
24	THE WITNESS: Well	24	know, are going to negotiate or not negotiate,
25	BY MR. SILVERMAN:	25	but they're going to essentially bid and compete
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1	Q Which then might be counterbalanced by some	1	for becoming the supplier to the franchise system.
2	other justification.	2	But they're doing that at the franchiser level,
3	A Okay. Well, so	3	rather at the franchisee level. It's not that the
4	MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form, compound.	4	competition disappears, it's just that it happens
5	THE WITNESS: So, all right. So, so, if you	5	at a different place. You know, that's what I mean
6	think about if you think about, you know, most	6	about sort of looking for the locus of competition.
7	of the contracts in the professional league sports	7	BY MR. SILVERMAN:
8	are multi-year contracts, and suppose that the	8	Q Let's go back to an athlete, I think I've
9	players are free agents, and, you know, or a	9	heard what you're describing as called competition for
10	player's a free agent, and he signs a four-year	10	the contract, for example.
11	contract with, you know, with my team, so, that	11	But, in order to have competition for the
12	agreement, you know, limits competition for that	12	contract, if you're an athlete, in order to have
13	player's services for the term of the contract.	13	competition for the contract that allows you to capture
14	You know, and I wouldn't think of that as being	14	something close to your marginal revenue product, there
15	anticompetitive. You know, I think of that as	15	has to be you have to have an alternative to that
16	being, you know, that's what happens with	16	agreement right? provided by alternative buyers in
17	multi-year contracts. I mean, it's not it's not	17	the market?
18	really a question of competition. Because if the	18	MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form.
19	player was a free agent, you know, and you had	19	THE WITNESS: Yeah. So so, for example,
20	another team, you know, you could have you could	20	you know, if the Dodgers want Mike Trout, then Mike
21	have competed with me to sign that player the	21	Trout, you know, he's a free agent, he's got some
22	four-year contract, or you could have offered three	22	leverage in bargaining with the Angels because he
23	years at more money, or five years at, you know,	23	can go across the street, so to speak, and sign up
24	maybe a little less money per year, but with that	24	with the Dodgers if they're offering him a better
25	additional year, you know, guaranteed, you know	25	deal.

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158 160 Now, if the Dodgers don't exist, and the only 1 means? employment opportunity that Mike Trout has is to 2 A Yes. I think that -- I think that Joan 3 either sign with the Angels, you know, after some 3 Robinson coined that term in her book, "The Economics of 4 negotiation, or essentially retire, then he's got 4 Imperfect Competition" which was published in the 1930s. 5 fewer options. And that's going to influence the 5 And she looked -- she had a chapter on monopsony in that 6 6 extent to which he's going to get compensated. book. And she talked about the difference between -- I 7 7 BY MR. SILVERMAN: forget exactly, you know, what terms she used. I don't 8 Q So is it fair to say that the robustness of 8 mean a monopsonistic exploitation. I know what that 9 the competition at the outset when the contract is being 9 term is. But whether she called it marginal 10 10 negotiated, is a key factor in whether the athlete can expenditure, marginal revenue products, marginal factor 11 obtain something close to their marginal revenue product 11 costs. I mean, I don't know exactly what terms she was 12 as a result of that contract? 12 using but, you know, to put in the terms that we use, 13 MR. WIDNELL: Objection, form. 13 you know, we've been using today, she was talking about 14 THE WITNESS: Yeah. I'm not so sure what you 14 the fact that the profit maxima -- profit maximization 15 mean by robustness of the competition. I mean, you 15 by a monopsonist is going to lead the monopsonist to 16 16 know, basically what I said was that, you know, if hire labor, say, up to the point where that marginal 17 there's -- if there's no alternative to playing for 17 expenditure on labor is equal to marginal revenue 18 18 the Angels, then Mike Trout is, you know, going to product, or the value of the marginal product, depending 19 have to negotiate with the Angels. 19 upon the market structure and the output market. 20 20 Now, you know, it's not all -- you know, the And, you know, that determine -- that equality 21 bargaining isn't all on the side of the Angels 21 determines the quantity that will be employed. At that 22 because, you know, they get benefit out of having 22 quantity, the height of the supply curve determines the 23 23 wage that will be paid. And the difference between the him on the team. They get tremendous benefit 24 24 because he's popular with the fans and he's a great two, the marginal revenue product, which is the marginal 25 25 player. You know, he contributes to wins, even benefit or the marginal value of the labor at that 159 161 1 though they haven't been winning much lately. But, particular quantity, is above the -- what the laborer's 1 2 2 actually being paid. you know, he contributes a lot to whatever wins 3 they do have. 3 And she referred to that difference as 4 4 And, you know, he puts on a good show. The monopsonistic exploitation. 5 5 fans like to watch him play. And, so, for -- he --Q You go on to write that whether athletes are 6 if they pushed him far enough so that he decided 6 exploited in the sense that their marginal revenue 7 7 he'd be better off to just walk away from baseball, product exceeds the ways that the team pays them is an 8 8 then, you know, they would be, you know, adversely empirical question. 9 9 affected. That is "they," being the Angels. And you then go on to say [as read]: The 10 10 So there's going to be some negotiations. evidence is that athletes indeed have been exploited. 11 11 It's not like they're going to drive his -- you They have been paid less than they were worth to the 12 know, his compensation down to, you know, some 12 team. Some athletes are still being exploited in this 13 level approaching nothing. 13 sense, even though salaries are extremely high for many 14 But, obviously, if he's got the ability to go 14 of them. 15 15 and negotiate with other baseball teams who are Do you agree with that? 16 looking for essentially the same thing that the 16 A Yes. 17 17 Angels are in terms of fan appeal and performance Q And then on the next page, you write [as 18 and helping to win games and, you know, and that 18 read]: For the free agents, there was presumably no 19 sort of thing, you know, he's in a better 19 difference between their salary and their MRP. That is 20 20 bargaining position. no exploitation. Veterans with at least three seasons 21 21 BY MR. SILVERMAN: in Major League Baseball, but less than six seasons were 22 22 Q If we turn to page 354 of your textbook, you not free agents, but they were protected to some extent 23 23 refer to the difference between a worker's marginal by final offer arbitration. 24 revenue product and the wage that they're paid as 24 When a player and his club cannot agree on a 25 25 monopsonistic exploitation. Can you explain what that new contract, the player can file for arbitration and

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